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400

ADVANCE

We advocate the political organization of the working class to overthrow the domination of the capitalist class and to establish Socialism.

WHOLE NUMBER 400

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

"ARBITRATION BREAKS THE BOSTON STRIKE"

The "Physic" Federation Fixes the Teamsters in True Capitalist Style.



OVER a week has passed since the settlement of the Boston strike was first announced; commerce has resumed its normal grind; the newspapers have found new sensations to juggle with; the politicians feel the ground safe enough beneath them to return to their interrupted plans; the preachers have dropped the "labor problem" and are again preparing sermons on ancient themes; the capitalist have taken a fresh grip upon the industrial machinery; the "general public" are concerned with other topics and the workers are creating profits again. The only haunting echoes of the struggle are the cries of the disappointed ones denied employment, victims of a vicarious sacrifice to cunning, conciliation and stupidity.

In the retrospect of a week we are able to review the settlement of this strike in its true perspective; to weigh its cost and measure its value to the labor movement and take out of it what lessons we can for future guidance. And if in doing so I write plainly and strongly it is because there are times when only plain and strong words can do full justice, and this is one of them.

The strike which will go into history as the Boston strike was not the result of an hour's impulse or passion. It had been incubating for two long months. From the time when the agreement between the Allied Transportation Council and the Master Teamsters Association was signed and the fight against the Brine Company began in the shape of a strike of its employees; during that strike and its exciting incidents; throughout the long drawn-out Superior court hearing upon the temporary injunction issued against the teamsters union; while the railroad companies were goading the freight handlers and clerks into desperation, the transportation workers were reaching out, welding themselves closer together, developing their forces and gathering strength for the threatening conflict. All this was apparent immediately when the strike commenced. Those who entered it did so as men do when they enter along deferred battle—there was no questioning, no hesitancy. Everybody knew what the issue was—there were none in ignorance and the result was a unanimity of action that stunned the enemies of labor and shook the commonwealth. In four days Boston was face to face with famine, the commercial highways of Massachusetts were rapidly choking with accumulated goods and industrial paralysis threatened New England.

And what resulted from this preparation, this unanimity, this exhibition of the power of labor? Let the Boston "Journal" answer that question, when it says:

"Organized labor has not suffered a defeat so humiliating in its whole history."

It is true. It is well that labor should know it. The "Journal" can afford to be frank, in spite of the eulogies of Governor Crane and the shameless assumptions of the Civic Federation, and surely we can also, in the face of the danger confronting the working class.

The strikers not only did not gain anything by the "settlement"—they lost much. At a small calculation over five hundred in Boston alone are known to be still out of work, and in Lynn the employees of the American Express Company are still unemployed. They have lost in organization, the spirit of solidarity is lessened, and confidence has been dissipated. Even where men have regained their employment, the same conditions do not exist; their employers are more arbitrary than before and it is known that master teamsters have tried to get union men to throw away their buttons and give up their cards. And the Brine company, the original offender, is still doing business at the old stand and is busier than ever.

The Civic Federation did its work well. It has justified its existence as a strike breaking machine. It has earned the plaudits of the capitalist class and it will, in time let us hope, but none too soon receive the just execrations of the working class. It has demonstrated that, according to the capitalist conscience, there is but one way to harmonize industrial difficulties, and that is lying to labor and disorganizing its forces; that the best

way to settle strikes is to break them, and break them quick.

The Civic Federation promulgates, as its chief plank its desire to obviate strikes. But when Mr. Easley first came to Boston several weeks ago and found that an injunction was pending against the teamster's union, and when it was probable that whether that injunction was made permanent or not, the fight against the Brine company would go on and a great strike precipitated, what did he do to prevent a strike? Nothing. Why? Because the principle involved was the most vital one affecting organized labor; whether an employer had the right to run his business to suit himself regardless of his employees, or whether those employees, through organization, should have the right to control the conditions of their employment. So long as the Brine company insisted on its right and the union men insisted on theirs, Mr. Easley could do nothing and discreetly left town. The Civic Federation at that moment proved its incapacity to act as mediator between "capital and labor" because, under the capitalist system, the interests of the capitalist class will not permit of any voluntary admission of the existence of working class interests, as such; and while Mr. Easley could ask the workmen to yield their rights yet as a faithful capitalist, he could not ask the Brine company to yield theirs.

If the leaders of the trades unions in Boston had seen this clearly, if they had not been hypnotized by the gyrations of an opera bouffe pose commission; if they had been alive to the fact that working class interests and capitalist class interests do not admit of voluntary compromise on either side, then they would never have allowed Mr. Easley, Governor Crane or any other capitalist or capitalist emissary to wheedle them into a settlement so indefinite in its provisions, so disastrous in its consequences. But because those leaders are still amenable to the sophistry of the capitalists, because they are almost economically ignorant and therefore incompetent to meet the capitalist on his own ground, because they accept as gospel what is handed down to them by their national leaders, because they care more for the fleeting flatteries of a self centered public than for the ultimate good of their class, because of these things, I say, they could be prompted into calling in the aid of the Civic Federation and court deception and disaster in the act.

This is not the first strike that organized labor has lost, but truly it "has not suffered a defeat so humiliating in its whole history." The more humiliating because defeat came in the very height of success, when victory was but an arm's length away ready to be grasped. We lost the strike of Pittsburg, of Homestead, of Chicago, Buffalo, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Cleveland, Coeur D'Alene and innumerable others but look down the long list and you will see that the strikers lost like men; they were clubbed, starved, shot, bayoneted, black-listed, battered and injunctioned into helplessness, but never before were they turned, at the high tide of success, with their enemies crying for quarter before them, into a miserable rout, scrambling and beseeching for jobs, a retreating army flying from a battlefield already won, and this only because the trade union leaders of America do not appreciate the power of the working class, will not recognize the opposing interests of the capitalist class, do not understand the real force embodied in working class organization, and be quickly influenced and deceived by the specious pleading of labor's enemies.

Organized labor should know these things. The trades unionists of this country must learn to put men on guard over their interests who know the industrial situation and appreciate its full significance; men less susceptible to the flatteries of a subsidized press and more responsive to the aspiration of the workers; men who will not be frightened at a manifestation of working class solidarity and power; men who, above all, will not allow themselves to be deceived by a policy of compromise into an alliance with a movement engineered and controlled by the most notorious labor crushers in America. The trades unionists must learn to expect neither truth, mercy nor sympathy from those they are organized to fight, and that everything labor has ever achieved, and ever hopes to achieve, has come and will only come through the exercise of its own organized strength, determination, persistency and power.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

Boston, Mass., March 22, 1902.

Watch your number. Renew promptly.

OH! YE MEAK AND HUMBLE!

The barnacle swells up with pride and says he is the important personage—because he is "educated."

The barnacle would rot and drop off like a dry wart if the workman stopped feeding him.

But the worker does not see this.

The worker is grateful to the barnacle because the barnacle "gives him work."

The worker's mind is enslaved.

That is really the bottom of it.

Ignorance, alone enslaves.

The worker himself, tho' creating all, has accepted the common assumption that it is natural and right that he should be poor.

He has accepted the verdict that he is an inferior being.

Look how he comes into a street car.

He peers around for an obscure corner, away from better-dressed people. He is abashed before clothes. If he cannot hide himself in a corner he stands on the platform in the cold—he and his dinner-pail.

How pitiful, to see his shrinking!

He bows low to the parasite.

(The dog is abashed before the fleas that fatten on him.)

The worker supports himself and the parasite, and he is grateful for the opportunity. He licks the hand of the man on his back—like a faithful dog. He is grateful to those benevolent leeches who are interested in "the better housing of the working-classes"—those benevolent leeches whose "education" conceals from them their insolence.

He wears inferior clothes; he eats inferior food; he has inferior furniture in his inferior home.

Yet he makes everything; superior and inferior!

He weaves silks, satins and broadcloths for the idle.

He weaves shoddy for himself, and wears it.

"—ARE CREATED EQUAL."

Some day we will see that every opportunity which we enjoy without striving to ensure the same opportunity for every other, leaves the deep searing mark of the black dog on us.

Human life is one.

Unless we all can ride none should ride.

Take two babies together—the worker's baby and the parasite's baby: There they are; both of them, out of the Great Mysery. Examine their soft little bodies.

Do you see spurs on one and a saddle on the other?

And yet, not through the fault of these innocents, but through the fault of our damnable education supporting our damnable institutions of private property, one is to grow up a profligate loafer and the other a starved and beaten worker.

Have the babes deserved it? Both souls to be destroyed!

One to rot at the top; the other to be stunted and starved at the bottom?

One owns the coal mine, the other owns nothing; he must dig for both. Who ordained this—in God's name?

COME AGAIN, QUIGLEY!

In Buffalo, one Quigley, a bishop of the Roman Catholic church, made a false and vicious attack on Socialism. "The Workers" says: "The affair has aroused more interest in Socialism among the working-class of Buffalo and the vicinity than has ever before been felt there, and is certainly having an excellent effect upon the movement there. It is to be hoped that Bishops Messmer, Hoban, and the rest of the great prelates of the Church throughout the country will follow up their attack upon the party as energetically as Bishop Quigley is doing it in Buffalo. The Socialist movement has nothing to fear from such attacks and everything to gain."

"A letter from our comrade, Father McGrady of Bellevue, Ky., relating to Bishop Quigley's attack on Socialism, is published in the Erie "People." We quote in part:

"I regard the Buffalo episode as an advertisement for Socialism. The Catholics who were at that meeting will precipitate a discussion of Socialism in the unions and indirectly advance the cause. We are only anxious to present our side of the question and the attacks of our enemies will give us an opportunity. The comrades must be careful to keep their speeches and writings entirely free from objections of a religious or moral character, and we will force the capitalists to meet our arguments. * The time is not far distant when Catholics will do their own thinking, and the age is already dawning when the star of Socialism will guide the footprints of the piloting hosts to the temple of victory, where every child of our race will be crowned with the diadem of freedom."

Still Worse.

The politician's wife was started by a sound below stairs. "John," she cried, "there's a robber in the house!" "The House!" replied John; "what's the matter with the Senate? That's worse."—Philadelphia Press.

CASTING CHILDREN BEFORE THE JUGGERNAUT OF CAPITAL.

A newspaper in Chicago with artistic proclivity has devoted considerable space to the fact that Mrs. Carlyle would not sell a child of hers, Leo Carlyle, for the sum of five thousand dollars to Mrs. Walter Peck.

The fact that such a thing should be thought of or commented upon shows the cold heartless commercialism under which we live, and Mrs. Peck is borne out in her ideas, of the commercial value of children from conditions in the factories throughout this country.

Mrs. Ashby in reporting upon the condition of several hundred cotton mills throughout the South, especially those of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, said that the families in order to secure a house in the villages where the textile factories are erected, must sign a contract agreeing to work so many children in the factories; that from six to ten per cent of the operators are below the age of ten years; that in the Whitney Mills it was stated that 25 per cent were children.

In these factories the air is full of gray lint, the machinery makes a tremendous noise. The children are active for twelve hours, their work is twisting the cotton where it breaks in the process of spinning. The wages are about ten cents per day and in many instances the hands of the children are mutilated, thumbs and fingers being torn off; that ten per cent of these babes in the course of five years in one factory had consumption. They are uneducated and have no opportunities to learn to read or write. This work is ruinous to the eyesight, many of them being unable to see distinctly for more than five or six feet and their brains of course are accordingly developed.

When parents are forced to sell their children to textile industries, and people permit such a condition to exist, insulting propositions to mothers, although well intended, will continue. When the working class has sufficient intelligence and moral courage to stand together on election day and support the cause of Socialism, then and not then will we recognize that capital and luxury were made for men, women and children, and that capital should not be used as a weapon through which capitalists may barter and destroy the lives of infants.—Seymour Stedman, in Chicago Socialist.

WAR AND ECONOMIC COMPETITION

As soon as a rudimentary division of labor begins, men must exchange their superfluity against their needs, and accordingly the market-town is coeval with civilization. Yet to use the market at the town there must be roads, and to render the roads available there must be police, and to enforce bargains made at the market there must be courts, and, in fine, an administrative machinery has always existed at these foci of exchanges which has created the capital city. The size of the region tributary to the capital depends, other things being equal, on the facility of travel. For example, a dozen little kingdoms once flourished together in the valley of the Euphrates. But as movement is accelerated such petty states sink into provinces, and the provinces consolidate into an empire. Finally, as the highways stretch out across continents, these empires link themselves in economic systems having common interests, since they draw their subsistence, in part, from the traffic on the international road. Furthermore, sooner or later, the time is apt to arrive when distant termini become connected by rival routes, and then competing economic systems are generated, one or the other of which must be undersold. But to be undersold means to be ruined, and hence it has happened that, from an epoch inconceivably remote, hostile systems have fought with and crushed one another, and for this reason it may be laid down as an axiom that the final stage of economic competition is war.—Brooks Adams in "Atlantic Monthly"

Socialism in Italian Army.

A dispatch from Rome states that the army reserve who were called during the trouble with the railroad have mutinously demanded to be disbanded again and protest against the plan contemplated of sending them to Tripoli. The dispatch adds that this indicates a great strength of socialist sentiment in the army.

Flint Center of the University Extension League has chosen "Socialism" as the subject of the next course of lectures, which will be delivered by Prof. Ira W. Howarth, of Chicago university. In consideration of the selection of this subject, the Central Labor union of Flint has agreed to purchase a hundred tickets for the course. In a parting talk from the center, Prof. E. E. Sparks, who delivered this season's course in Flint, said in referring to the subject for next winter: "Time was when socialists were associated in the popular mind with long hair, bombs and other anarchistic tendencies; but it is beginning to be understood that the socialist of today stands for the betterment of mankind."

ADVANCE



Organ of the Socialist Party of California.
Published weekly by Local San Francisco, Socialist Party.

Address:
618 Merchant Street, San Francisco, California.

Subscription price, 50c per year; six months 25c

TO CUT OUT NEGRO VOTE.

Richmond, Va., March 29.—A suffrage plan has been agreed upon by the Constitutional Convention of Virginia under which it is expected the negro vote will be practically eliminated. It provides that voters shall pay a poll tax of \$1.50 shall be able to read or to understand when read to them the constitution of the State, and shall be able to make application for the right to register in their own hand writing in the presence of the registrars. The "understanding" clause is only to be in effect until January 1, 1904. The other features are permanent. Confederate soldiers and their sons are exempt from the understanding and application clause.

Workingmen should remember that this disfranchisement of the negro is the disfranchisement of a fellow wage-slave. They should note that no blatant democratic demagogue has raised his voice against this iniquity because it has been done by the Democratic party, not only in Virginia, but in Alabama, Mississippi and other southern states, the stronghold of those who bray loud-est and longest against Imperialism in the Philippines. A characteristic feature of this act of disfranchisement is the exemption from its provisions of Confederate soldiers and their sons. Such negroes as fought for the Union, for liberty, if illiterate, are prevented from voting; but those whites, who fought against the Union and for chattel slavery, will be given the ballot to continue in legal form, we presume, their warfare against progress, equality and human liberty. Contrast this reactionary, retrogressive policy of the Democratic party with the valiant fight the socialists are making in the Kingdom of Belgium for equal, universal and direct suffrage. The socialists are the only true friends of political as well as economic liberty.

NO POLITICAL TRUST.

Redlands, (Cal.) March 29.—President E. H. Harriman of the Southern Pacific system joins Second Vice-President Paul Morton in ridiculing the proposed combination of important financial interests, alleged to be contemplated, with the object of preventing the renomination of President Theodore Roosevelt.

"You may say for me in language as positive as you desire, that I know of no organized movement of hostility against the President and do not believe such a thing is seriously contemplated, and would not countenance the idea were my advice solicited," declared Mr. Harriman, aboard his special train today. "Every patriotic citizen would feel he was personally harmed were present conditions in the business world to be disturbed. There is nothing in the conduct of President Roosevelt to frighten the most conservative."

The press title and this associated press dispatch is somewhat misleading. It is not a case of "No Political Trust" but a case of "The Trusts Are Not Afraid of Roosevelt." The last sentence of Mr. Harriman is especially significant. It means that the capitalists and trust magnates do not fear the anti-Merger suit or the Inter-state commerce commission prosecutions. There can be no question but what the republican party is the political expression of the trust and this declaration of Harriman means simply that for one capitalist Roosevelt's rough-riding has not been bad.

GREAT SOCIALIST ACTIVITY EVERYWHERE.

Comrade Fred J. Spring, formerly of Los Angeles, has taken up his work as Organizer for the State of New York.

It is intended that Comrade Spring's work shall be done in the most thorough way. He will go through the state, not merely stopping in each town long enough to hold a meeting or two, but proportioning his efforts to the needs of the movement in each place, the object being to put each existing local in good working condition and to organize locals wherever we have a body of unorganized Socialist voters. The comrades and sympathizers throughout the state can profit greatly by Comrade Spring's services if they will and the result ought to show when the votes are counted in November.

In Pennsylvania, Comrades August Klenke and George E. Bigelow are both on regular agitation tours. A new state committee has been elected. Comrade J. W. Slayton of New Castle was nominated by referendum for Governor and J. Mahlon Barnes for Lieutenant-Governor—Barnes is also elected National Committeeman.

In Massachusetts considerable work is being done. Lecture tours have been or are being arranged for H. Gaylord Wilshire, Nick P. Geiger and J. Mahlon Barnes. Besides which William Butcher, formerly National Secretary is traveling through the state in the interest of "The Worker" and "Vorwaerts." Representatives Carey and

McCartney have more invitations to speak than they can actually fill. And William Maily is binding up the agitation thus carried on into the sheaves of organized socialist clubs. Everything is beginning to look finely in the old Bay State.

Ohio has Comrade Strikland in the field and his excellent work is bearing fruit. Tickets have been put up at Springfield and Toledo. In the latter city two prominent Democrats are reported as having seen the folly of their ways, recanted the doctrines of reaction and come out for the revolutionary program of the Socialist party. Eugene V. Debs will speak there this Saturday on "The Struggle for Freedom." Springfield's ticket is the first ever put up by the Socialist party in that city. A. J. Swing, who is also a state organizer—Ohio has two—seems to be doing effective work in the campaign.

Illinois has a state organizer in the field and his work is stirring up the country locals. His activity seems to be quite a cause for congratulation. Besides this, John C. Chase, of Haverhill, the first socialist mayor in the U. S., will speak twenty-three times before different trades unions through the state.

Comrade Val Putnam, of St. Louis, has undertaken a tour of Missouri for the purposes of agitation and organization. Socialism is booming in St. Louis and Putnam will carry the enthusiasm and strength of the central point to the outermost boundaries. E. T. Behrens, president of the State Federation of Labor, heads the Socialist ticket in the city of Sedalia. He is putting up a strong fight for the cause.

Comrade Benton is organizing Kansas with most gratifying results. His efforts are being ably seconded by Comrades F. P. and Kate O'Hare. It is expected that shortly Kansas will have an organizer in each Congressional district.

Geo. Boomer, of Washington, who was delegated by the National Committee to straighten out the bad tangle in Utah, has reported hard work but excellent results. The Utah movement seems to have become muddled and to have failed to understand that the socialist movement is the political expression of the class struggle and must be based on the interest of the working class alone. Comrade Boomer, who was wittily referred to by Carey, of Massachusetts, as the "Committeeman from Washington with the class-struggle bias," was sent to Utah because of this "bias" which was badly needed. His work has been thorough and we expect to see its fruits in the state convention which will be held there this month. A good, strong, clear organization will, doubtless be effected.

California is not behind the procession. For her size and the disadvantages of distance and thinness of population, California has done remarkably well for socialism. This year will be no exception. Comrades M. W. Wilkins, of Oakland and Edgar B. Helpingstone, of San Diego, have been elected Organizers for the Northern and Southern districts respectively and will soon be hard at work. Comrades Morris and Darrah are hammering away in the South and Comrade Geo. S. Holmes has been sent by the State Committee attend to the local campaign at San Jose. Redlands, Riverside and Corona have tickets in the field and are waging the class war with great vigor and zeal. Reports from the locals are most encouraging and it is becoming evident that the boys are going to take off their coats, roll up their sleeves and strike fast and hard for fifteen thousand socialists in November. To this end the efforts of Comrades Ben and J. Stitt Wilson in the South and Walter Thomas Mills will add much. Comrade Mills will deliver a series of ten lectures in Metropolitan Temple every Sunday afternoon at 2 P. M. beginning April 6th. In three months also a band of about thirty-eight socialist knights armed cap-a-pie with learning, logic and eloquence will sallie forth from San Francisco to different parts of the coast and do battle with the hosts of Wrong.

We have not begun to enumerate all that is being done. Many states have been omitted and the large cities where our forces are advancing with order and speed have been scarcely mentioned. But in conclusion it is well to look to the National Committee. With, and also because of the great activity of the states the National Secretary has been worked almost to the point of prostration. The assistance of Comrade Jas. S. Roche of Los Angeles was invoked and he is now at work assisting Comrade Greenbaum. An additional stenographer has added to those already comprising the office force. The increasing volume of business has compelled the renting of an additional room with the prospect that another will be needed in a short time. As an index it might be noted that receipts for February were over \$900 or only \$100 less than the receipts of the S. L. P. Nat'l Executive for the past six months. From this summary it may be seen that socialism as represented by the Socialist Party is making great strides forward. It is a record that should inspire every heart with enthusiasm and urge each individual to renewed zeal in the propaganda of our great cause. It is an earnest of success. It is full of hope and promise.

"Ah, Come! Let us cast off fooling
For this, at least, we know
The Dawn and the Day is coming
And forth the Banners go!

HUSTLING PETITIONS.

For the information of many inquirers it is well to state that a man need NOT be registered BEFORE he signs petitions. But every signer must be a citizen and MUST register BEFORE

the Primary election. The County clerks' and registrar's offices are now open for registration. Every socialist should register at once. Last year's registration is canceled, null and void. A new registration is taken this year. All socialists also, who are not citizens should become naturalized immediately.

Geo. H. Cuplin, of Nordhoff, Cal., scores first blood. He sends in fifty names, properly attested and admirably kept. He sets the mark for other comrades: If every comrade who received a petition would act with equal energy and promptness we would have 50,000 signatures in two weeks. Remember, Comrades, we've got you on a list where you never will be missed and what you do for socialism will be credited up to you; what you don't do will be conspicuous by its absence.

S. B. Dunton gets to work with his customary zeal, and not only pledges himself to do his share but puts the State Secretary on the trail of several others who will work. That is an excellent thing to do. Let everyone, who knows of a socialist anywhere in the state, inform the State Secretary and the roll of socialist workers will grow and multiply.

Harold Hengst, of Kaweah, is struggling along with his precinct and expects to treble the vote this fall.

Locals Tulare and Fresno are alive and claim that excellent results will be seen from their activity.

Local San Francisco has appointed a committee, who have gotten over 150 petitions out in every part of the city. One comrade alone has already turned in two hundred and fifty names. This is Comrade Holmes, the committee's chairman. It is hoped that over 5000 names will be secured in San Francisco alone. Frisco was pretty badly battered last fall, but we bob up serene and smiling for the next round and when victory is won and the roll is called at Sacramento we'll be there with both feet.

Every comrade should hustle as quickly as possible. Over 12000 names are needed and the more, the safer. A petition last fall was found to have only one-third to one-half of the names valid and was thereupon rejected, the good names not numbering three per cent. Our petition must be beyond cavil or suspicion. It will be no small exertion to get the names needed. Every comrade that has received a list should return it with a least fifty names. And if your place or neighborhood is large one hundred should be the smallest number of signatures. These can be procured by a house to house canvass in an evening or by going to the club or lodge rooms or to any public meeting or to a corner grocery. Few men will refuse to sign if properly approached. Tell them they are not bound by it. They can vote any ticket afterwards. That this petition simply gives us a chance to get on the ballot so as to show our strength. Ask your man for his signature simply for the sake of fair play and you will seldom be refused. If you cannot do it yourself, hire some one at a cent a name and when that man appeals as each name brings him a cent almost no one will refuse him. Get to work! Hustle signatures to the petitions! Start the ball a rolling for fifteen thousand socialists this fall.

Mark Hanna's sub-committee of the "Peace Committee" of 24x12 of the Civic Federation to conciliate and arbitrate labor troubles is composed of the following gentlemen: M. A. Hanna, Samuel Gompers, Oscar S. Strauss, Chas. Moore, Ralph M. Easley, Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Potter, Franklin MacVeagh, John Mitchell, Frank F. Sargent, James Duncan, J. Kruttschnitt, William H. Pfahler and Marcus M. Marks. From the looks of things this sub-committee is now 10x4 in favor of capital, or two and one-half to one, and, of course, the working-man will be well taken care of. "Rah for Hanna!"

SPANISH RELIEF FUND.

The trouble in Spain which has received some notice in the capitalistic press, arose out of the demand of the metal workers for a reduction of the workingday from 10 to 9 hours. The strike which they inaugurated spread rapidly. Very shortly all the other trades were out and the principal industrial provinces were paralyzed by a sympathetic strike. It is estimated that 500,000 men were affected. The condition of affairs became so alarming to the capitalists that they backed up and secured the grant of "Butcher" Weyler's demand for almost absolute power to quell this industrial uprising, thus causing the resignation of Sagasta, the premier. Weyler's policy was the military method, the soldier's short-cut to peace. Thugs and soldiers were turned loose on unarmed defenceless men and the process of shooting into submission began. It is impossible, owing to the censorship of the press to get any accurate account from public sources; but private letters state there are over 2,000 wounded in the hospitals, many of whom will die. The situation of these victims of militant capitalism is pitiful and desperate. In order to provide for them, to conduct the defense of the imprisoned and maintain the cause, the trades' unions are making a collection. A representative appeared before the regular business meeting of Local San Francisco and a contribution of \$7.95 was raised by collection. It was ordered also that this statement be made in ADVANCE and that the fund be open for contributions for two weeks. All comrades, who wish to contribute to the Spanish Relief Fund, should, therefore, do so at once. Address C. H. King, Jr., care of ADVANCE, 618 Merchant Street, San Francisco, Cal.

POPPIES and WHEAT

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

More sacred than the church, nobler than our systems, higher and holier than any institution which man has created is man himself. There can be no final argument for any religion, or for any civilization that requires for its continuance the heartless sacrifice of millions of human beings. Organized society has one supreme obligation, it is the guaranteeing of equal opportunities to every individual. Fulfilling that it has within itself the power of permanence and the prophecy of progress, violating that it totters already."—J. E. Roberts, Minister of the Church of this World.

EVEN Socialists need to think. At the "educational" meeting the other evening there was talk by several members about the sections of the city where people of the "middle class" reside. Let us get rid of that middle class delusion. There are two classes and only two—the grafters and the grafted, the workers and the drones, the pad-dys and the presidents, the smiling fisher basking in the shade and the helpless, wriggling, gasping sucker on the hook. These two, and no more. It is logical and natural for Mark Hanna to rub his fat hands and wink his benign eye and prate of the happiness and prosperity of the 'great middle class. It is not only a staple joke with him, but it is his chief stock in stump speaking. It is like many of the delusions which workingmen love, a back number, a dream, an echo of a past age. There was once a middle class, there is one no longer. Investigate some friend of yours who seems to belong to the "middle class" and see what you will see. He is toiling like a galley slave to pay his rent and his taxes. And he cheerfully and regularly hands over what is left to some corporation. He has nothing, not even hope, but because he is paying one or more men a weekly stipend, he believes he will soon be taken in as an equal partner with Rockefeller. Socialists know the truth and should avoid bad habits of speech and thought.

JAPAN'S emperor is looking around among religions to see if he can find a real bargain for his people, who have no recognized national creed at present. His only objection to Christianity is that the Japanese are too intelligent to believe in miracles. The emperor expects to invent a system of his own which will meet all requirements. This is no joke, honestly.

EUGENE V. DEBS pays an eloquent tribute to John P. Altgeld in the Easter edition of "The Toiler." It is interesting to read the various words of appreciation of this man, who never faltered in his path of duty, and it is good to note that many capitalist journals publish the truth about his high character and worthy life. The world needs men like Altgeld and as men think for themselves more and more, as they rush to their daily grind, the strong contrast between men like Altgeld and Rhodes will become apparent. The real and the sham, the hero and the traitor, the statesman and the politician, will by contrast, intensify and energize each other and the workingman will recognize his friend. In the next decade there will appear many new men of fine intellects and clear conceptions, who will preach socialism and revolution.

PROLETARIAN women of Chicago have organized a sick and death benefit association in that city. All women, thoroughly proletarian in their views, between the ages of 18 and 50 are eligible to membership. The admission fee is one dollar with five dollars benefit a week, in case of sickness, and \$75 in case of death.

ONE is struck forcibly, in reading Socialist newspapers, by the amount of space occupied in discussions regarding harmony in the party. The very foundation principle of Socialism prevents harmony. That is to say, every man is encouraged to think and to express his opinion without fear or favor. And one opinion is supposed to be as good as another. As there are always several ways of doing almost everything, so there may be many roads which lead to the revolution of society and the installation of a new and better system. Each one of those methods may be the best. What of it? It is possible to waste so much time and energy in proving that one's particular notion of a method is the only one, that before we know it, we are dead and nothing done. Socialists in Germany, in England, in Chicago and San Francisco are all agreed that the toiler is robbed, gagged and starved. Socialists everywhere are all agreed that help will never come from those who reap immense profits by reason of this despoliation of the worker. Socialists in America are all agreed that it is better for the workingman, as well as the balance of the people, that the change, for his elevation, should come by the ballot, rather than by the sword and dynamite. Socialists all agree that the revolution must come. In view of this mighty array of self-evident propositions upon which all are in unison it does seem an appalling pity that time should be wasted in discussing the relative merits of this man's notion or that man's loyalty. If the case was not so urgent, if the workingman had the ease and the banks and the railroads and automobiles, he could afford to worry along and let things slowly evolve in his direction. But he has nothing, and that nothing is getting less every day. Some fine morning he will arise and find his ballot gone, it is well nigh out of his grasp this very moment. Let us get to work in God's name, or in the name of the little wage-earning chap that went by just now, staggering under a load that only a donkey should be

asked to carry. In that boy's name and the name of all the pinched, stunted, over-worked under-fed children of the poor, let us quit the eternal wrangle and astonish Mr. Capitalist by acting as if we could think. Let us keep the main issue in front of us and do what we can, never mind about the other fellow.

As spring-time comes and spring poetry is ripe for the market, as the daffodils and daisies smile at us through their tears, we lean out of the window sill and hear the boys call "knuckle-down" and see the little maidens skip the rope so gracefully. We feel the thrill of life and the new growth which are in nature, even in the big, wooden city, where man has placed a ban on the sunshine and cumbered the earth with towering houses and dark corners, banks and factories which he calls civilization. We think of the big wide prairie, where the grass is like velvet on the hillside and we think of nature's poet, Wordsworth, who was born just 132 years ago on an April day in old England. Wordsworth lived to be 80 and all the years of his life he was young and loved nature as the youthful always do. And Wordsworth told us of his love for all out doors with a skill that no other artist has ever attained. It was in April too, that he died, and in April evermore his poetry shall be read and loved while mortal man unconsciously responds to the eternal invitation of nature in the spring time, to come and be a tiller of the soil.

NEW YORK has a splendid socialist weekly, "The Worker," and will soon have a daily newspaper to stand for the rights of the laboring class. The editor of "The Worker", in a late issue, objects to the language Rev. Dr. Rainsford used in addressing the New York State Household Economic Association. The preacher commended the work of introducing hygienic cookery and cleanliness into the homes of the poor, but used this language, to which "The Worker" objects because it is flattery and says it is cheap and so on:

"The standards of the poor are higher than those of the rich—purity is more practiced among them than in the ranks of the rich. I would to God that the rich fathers gave to their children what the tenement fathers give to theirs. Ladies, take off your shoes when entering the house of the poor—you stand on holy ground!"

The objection is not well taken. The women who compose the Household Economic Societies over the country are women who have nothing to do, they cook for amusement, because it is a fad, they talk sanitation and hygiene to women who have nothing fit to cook and no fit place to cook it. They intrude into homes where they are not wanted and talk dreams and generalities to women who have learned things in the hard school of life, and who do not lack knowledge alone, but are without the simplest means "to do with." The swells instruct the poor, because they believe they are practicing philanthropy and it is so nice to sit over a cup of fragrant tea with other idlers and relate. Dr. Rainsford is right—it is holy ground and mighty few women who take all these things into their empty hands and emptier heads have any business there. Any poor woman who has intelligence sufficient to enable her to learn to make a loaf of bread—and God knows they are few enough, is insulted, deeply and unjustly, every time one of these "cultured" dames sticks a dainty nose into her private affairs. May the day soon come when the poor women will rise in their scorn and invite Mrs. Culture to remain in the alley outside. Companionship, something fit to use and leisure are the crying needs of the working woman. When she gets those, she may need advice, just at present, she might give a little, she knows enough, she certainly does not lie awake o' nights sighing for either prayers or charity. A new condition, based on a big, wide justice would suit her.

Dr. John F. Wetzell read a lecture on "Anarchism and Socialism" at the propaganda meeting last Sunday evening. The meeting was in charge of Mrs. Reynolds who presided very gracefully. The speaker imposed on her good nature and because she granted him a few minutes overtime, took a great many that she did not grant. As he was standing for anarchism, it was merely logical. The speaker declared the statements he made and the sentiments he expressed were not his statements nor sentiments, but had been compiled from the written utterances of the friends and enemies of anarchism. He said that if Jefferson's notion, "that government is best which governs the least" is good or true, then it follows that no government at all is best of all. Governments are accountable for all bloodshed, all soldiery, all exploitation, and an ideal existence would be one where there is no government, either by force or by fraud. As an example of this glorious and much-to-be-desired condition, the speaker referred to the Esquimaux, who have no organized army and navy and whose life is one long dream of perfected philosophy. (The language is that of the reporter and not of the speaker) The short man of the peaked fur cap and tallow candle diet is the only one who has reached the high state of civilization to which anarchism aspires, "from everyone according to his ability to everyone according to his needs."

Mr. Cummings followed Dr. Wetzell, who is also an anarchist of philosophical turn. He disagreed with the speaker, so far as he was able in a five minute speech of rebuttal and he is a very good talker.

Comrades Thompson, Smith and King set forth the socialist side when it came time for members to take the platform. They all tried to show that perfect individual liberty is not possible if more than person occupies the land, because all have rights. Socialism will enforce the rights of all, and government, relieved of the curse of classes with special privileges, as opposed to classes with no privileges, will be a good and necessary thing. It is not government that goes out and ex-

ploits weaker nations, it is the capitalist seeking new pastures that is behind all the murder in the Philippines and in South Africa. Take away the hope for profit and war would never be mentioned. Dr. Wetzell closed the discussion by giving his authority for some of his statements and by saying that he should always vote with the socialists until something a great deal better is presented. The ballot is the reasonable weapon at hand and powerful and men should use and not abuse its power. The capitalist class will use every means to keep the workingmen from voting and men must guard their rights. Comrade Bersford made a somewhat lengthy critic's report in which he undertook to answer most of the arguments presented by the speaker of the evening.

SOCIALIST TICKET IN OREGON.

Our comrades in Oregon held a convention and nominated the following ticket:

For Governor—R. R. Ryan, of Marion County.
For Secretary of State—C. W. Barzee, of Wasco County.
For State Treasurer—W. W. Myers, of Clackamas County.
For Justice of the Supreme Court—C. P. Rutherford, of Harney County.
For Superintendent of Public Instruction, Attorney General and State Printer—To be filled by State Central Committee.
For Congressman, Second District, D. T. Gerdes, of Clatsop County.
C. S. Harnich elected permanent state chairman; A. D. Hale, secretary, and W. S. Richards, treasurer, all of Albany.

Perfect harmony prevailed throughout the meeting.

CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held March 31, 1902. Present: Comrades Messer, Ober, Appel, Johnson, Hefferin, Reynolds and Bersford. Comrade Johnson in the chair. Minutes read and approved. Communications read from National Secretary, Greenbaum, Herold Hengst, S. B. Dunton, Chas. Ross, Karl Bracher, M. W. Wilkins, Robert J. Young, W. S. Varnum, S. Wallace Niman, Frank Simpson, G. F. Alexander, L. H. Dawson, Wm. Carpenter, W. J. Gebbie, L. Maier, L. A. Lambert, W. H. Pitt, Geo. H. Cuplin, Cameron King, A. J. Underwood. Remittances received: Herold Hengst, 30c.; Tulare, \$3.00; Corona, \$2.45; Fresno, \$3.00; Santa Barbara, \$2.00; Chula Vista, \$1.50; San Bernardino, \$4.40. Total, \$16.65. Bills ordered paid: Postage additional petitions, 40c.; Secretary, \$12.00; money order, 12c. Total, \$12.52.

Moved and seconded that the order to print 1000 state constitutions for \$12.00 be given to Los Angeles Socialist. Carried.

The vote for organizers published herewith, resulted in the election of Comrade Wilkins for Northern District and Comrade Helphingstine for organizer of Southern District. Both these Comrades being in town, it was decided to request them to confer with the committee at its next meeting. Meeting adjourned 10:30 p. m.

THE VOTE FOR ORGANIZERS.

Northern District.	Wilkins.	Brower.
San Francisco.	26	5
Tulare.	5	
Oakland.	19	
Fresno.	4	1
Sacramento.	8	
Total.	52	6
Southern District.	Helphingstine.	Roche.
Chula Vista.	7	
San Diego.	26	
Alhambra.	5	
San Bernardino.	12	2
Del Mar.	2	
Redlands.	17	2
Total.	71	

THOMAS BERSFORD, Secretary.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Comrade McCaffery, taking advantage of a strike, succeeded in organizing a local of the party in Nebraska City, Neb. Same Comrade also organized Lincoln.

Comrade Booner has reorganized Locals Lehi, Silver City and Salt Lake City, Utah. A convention will be held shortly to perfect State organization.

Applications for charters have been received as follows: Wetherford, Oklahoma Territory. State Charter has been issued to Colorado.

City clerk refused to file nominations of Comrades in Lincoln, Neb. Mandamus suit to compel him to do so has been won by the party. Republican and Democratic parties both filed objections, showing they are two wings of the same bird. Both old parties have combined against the Socialists in Plattsmouth, Neb. Feeling is running high. Comrades have hopes of election in Omaha City, Nebraska, because of late strike and action of Trade Unions.

Comrade Bigelow is having splendid meetings in Pennsylvania.

Donations to Propaganda received as follows: Amount reported to March 22d \$247.28
Dr. R. L. West, Monet, Mo., 1.00
Chas. Babbitt, St. Louis, Mo., .25
Local Wheeling, W. Va., 1.50
Local Taunton, Mass., 8.50
28th Assembly Dist., N. Y., 2.00
31st Ward Branch, Chicago, Ill., 5.00
Local Albany, Oregon, 1.40

Total received to March 29th, \$266.93

The regular meeting of the William Morris Club will be held at the residence of Mrs. Reynolds, 1213 Laguna street, Thursday afternoon April 10th, at 2 o'clock. The six month's program will be taken up and the first number, a paper on "William Morris" will be read by Mrs. Reynolds. It will be in the nature of a biography and each member is expected to take part in the discussion. All socialist women of the city are cordially invited to attend.

LOCAL S. F. PARTY MEETING.

Local San Francisco Socialist Party met Wednesday evening with Comrade Smith, the new organizer, in the chair. The attendance was larger than usual and the meeting held a little later. Comrades Richard Hewald, Freida Hewald, A. Sorrenson, Eithel Sorrenson of San Francisco and three transfers from Seattle, Comrades Peters, Lattimer and Lindwell, making seven new members, were admitted. Three small bills were ordered paid without discussion. The literature and propaganda committees made routine reports. It was reported by Scott Anderson that Liberty Branch has indefinitely suspended. The committee in reference to business matters with Scott Anderson was given more time and a fifth member, Comrade Smith added. The committee in relation to the bill of Comrade Benham made its report which was placed on file and a copy ordered sent to Mr. Benham.

Comrade Lattimer was elected on the ADVANCE directory and the Oakland comrades having given up the idea of a joint stock company, Comrade King moved that Organizer Smith be elected business manager and that the paper be kept in the party as the property of Local San Francisco.

Comrade Lattimer was elected Chairman of the Sunday evening meeting, Comrade Larson, Reader, and Cameron King, Jr., Critic.

An interesting feature of the meeting was an appeal from Comrade Roman, a striker from Barcelona, who was presented by Mr. Alfonso, who acted as interpreter. The serious condition of the strikers was eloquently described and a good collection taken. This was ordered to be used as the nucleus for a subscription fund to be given publicity in ADVANCE for two weeks, and then sent to the Socialists in Barcelona for the benefit of the strikers. Comrade King was requested to write a letter accompanying the donation.

Receipts for the week, \$72.05.

Comrade Reynolds made a motion that Local San Francisco be re-organized as per the new constitution and that the matter be taken up at the next meeting.

Adjourned for one week.

MARY FAIRBROTAER, Sec.

VOTERS ATTENTION.

Every person who wishes to vote at the primary election in August or at the general election in November, must register since the beginning of the year. Registration is now open. If you have not registered this year, do so at once. Last year's registrations are canceled and void. You must re-register this year. Every Comrade should register immediately and get his friends to do so. California socialist papers please copy.

OFFICIAL.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO Socialist Party holds regular weekly lectures every Sunday evening on social and economic subjects at Academy of Sciences Hall, 819 Market street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

LOCAL OAKLAND, Socialist Party, holds regular monthly lectures first Thursday evening, 8 p. m. at Grand Army Hall, 419 13th st. Address correspondence to M. W. Wilkins, 1279 Alcatraz ave., Lorin, Cal.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Socialist Party, holds open educational meetings every Monday evening in room 11 Methodist Block, corner Park street and Central ave. Free discussion, questions, etc. Everybody welcome. Address communications to Allen A. Crockett, 1010 Walnut st.

THE TRAVELING CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

A millionaire lay dying,
He'd been hogging things for years;
There were cold drops on his forehead
And his eyes were full of tears.
A nurse bent low to listen
To what he had to say
And heard him faintly mutter
Ere his spirit passed away:
"I see the sable boatman
And there's his somber prow;
He calls to me to hurry,
His decks are crowded now;
He tells me that they make him
Keep running day and night;
He says his biz is booming,
With no let up in sight!
Oh, if I only had my old
Cunning I would just
Get papers in New Jersey
And make this thing a trust;
I'd take the line from Charon
And fix a rate of fare
To charge the crowds of people
Who have to journey there;
Ah, what a chance is wasted,
Alas—" He gave a groan
And then a little gurgle
And left for parts unknown.
—Chicago Record-Herald.

THE MARCH OF PROGRESS.

From Greenland's icy mountains
To India's coral strand
The preacher and the gunboat
Now travel hand in hand.
To speed the day when heathens,
With minds no more preplexed,
Will settle down converted
And, better still, annexed.
—William E. McKenna in Puck.

A brief cablegram from Berlin announces that in Prussia "the elections resulted in considerable success for the Socialists, even in the small places, where Socialists were never before elected." No other facts or figures are given. The reason is well understood. Those who control the press associations are determined to give American Socialists no encouragement by chronicling victories for their cause anywhere for fear that the news will aid the growth of socialism here. But we will get good reports when the ships arrive.

Program for Metropolitan Temple Meeting, 2 P. M., April 13th.

1. Music by Frank Brown's Ladies' Orchestra.
 2. Singing, "The Workingman's Battle Hymn." Songs for everybody and everybody singing.
 3. The Question Box.—Written questions gathered from the audience bearing on all sorts of questions and answered by Prof. Mills.
 4. Song by everybody. Orchestral music and gathering of collection.
 5. Lecture by Prof. Walter Thomas Mills. Subject: "President Roosevelt's War on the Trust and Its Outcome."
- Note.—These meetings are held under the direction of the International School of Social Economy. Everybody is invited to attend. Admission free and ladies are especially invited.

MAGNIFICENT VOTE IN MILWAUKEE

After one of the hottest campaigns in the city's history, the Social Democratic or Socialist party in Milwaukee achieves the magnificent result of 8,713 votes. This is over 15 per cent of the total vote cast.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO

Holds Regular

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

ACADEMY of SCIENCES HALL.

CREMATION. Odd Fellows' Cemetery Ass'n. Point Lobos Ave. SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. The ordinance prohibiting burials in San Francisco does not refer to CREMATION. Permits to cremate will be issued by the Board of Health the same as heretofore. CHARGES:—Members of Societies and Organizations and their families over 15 years of age, \$30. Those not members of Societies and Organizations over 15 years of age, \$35. ALL Children between 10 and 15 years of age, \$15. ALL children under 10 years of age, \$10. This includes organ service and use of chapel. George R. Fletcher - - Manager.

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Workingmen's Sick & Death Benefit Society. Of the United States of America, Branch 102. Meeting every Monday in the Month at 8 p. m. in the Temple, 117 Turk St. Secretary: A. F. Mayer, 1434 Pine St. Physician: Dr. Fred'k A. Rinne, 1312 Market St., Hours, 8-5 & 7-8 P. M. Doctors Residence: 2901 Folsom, Cor. 25th St. Hours: Before 9 A. M., 1-2, 5-9:30 P. M. Telephone: South 822.

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KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS. BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

All capital is directed into means of production and living labor-power. This latter composition is determined by the relation existing between the mass of the means of production in use on the one hand, and the mass of labor necessary for their employment on the other. I call the former the value composition, the latter the technical composition of capital. Between the two there is a strict co-relation. To express this I call the value composition of capital the organic composition of capital, in so far as it is determined by its technical composition and reflects the changes of the latter. Whenever I speak of the composition of capital without further qualification it is always the organic composition that is meant. This composition is different in different capitals. In the following we will assume the average composition of the social capital of a country. Now after these few preliminary remarks let us go to work.

First of all assume the simplest possible case: The accumulation goes on without any change in the composition of capital, that is, a given amount of means of production always requires a given amount of labor power in order to set them in operation. For a concrete illustration let us assume a capital of \$100,000,000, three-fourths of which amount is constant and one-fourth variable capital. If \$20,000,000 of the surplus value derived from this capital are added to the original capital, then, according to our assumption, the additional capital will be divided in the same proportions as the original capital; the total capital will now be composed of \$90,000 constant and \$30,000 variable capital. The latter increase in the same proportion as did the former, an increase of 20 per cent. But in order to make this new additional capital productive, it requires additional labor-power. In this case then the surplus-value of \$20,000,000 which is to accumulate can become capital only when the number of wage-workers at its disposal has been increased 20 per cent.

If then—the composition of capital remaining the same—the wage-workers do not increase as fast as capital, then the demand for workers increase more rapid than the number of those who offer themselves on the labor market and consequently wages must rise.

And it is in this case that the malhusian has in mind, when he recommends the limitation of the propagation of the workers as a "solution of the social question." They first of all overlook the fact that the relation between the capitalist and the wage-worker is not abolished by a rise in wages. The accumulation of capital means the reproduction of conditions upon which capitalism rests upon a progressively increasing scale at that, it means the growth of capitals and the mass of surplus-value, it means the growth of unpaid labor on the one, and increase of the proletariat on the other hand.

Even when the accumulation of capital increases the price of labor it cannot be done without at the same time increasing the number of the proletariat, nor can it be done without extending the domain of capital. Wages, however, can never rise high enough to threaten surplus-value. The only thing that stimulates a demand for labor power under the capitalist mode of production is the need of capital to be productive, the desire to produce surplus-value. For that reason capital will never buy labor power at a price which would exclude the production of surplus-value.

If wages rise as the result of the accumulation of capital two possibilities arise: either the progress of accumulation is not interfered with by the rise in the price of labor—even though the rate of surplus-value may fall, it is possible that at the same time the mass of surplus-value may rise. "In this case it is self-evident that a decrease in the unpaid labor influences the extension of capitalist rule in no wise." In accumulation slackens "because the incentive of gain is less." The accumulation slackens and with it the cause which forced the price of labor higher up. As the result wages fall until they again reach the level at which it becomes profitable for capital to use labor power "so we see that the mechanism of the capitalist mode of production itself removes the hindrances which it creates."

We see here a peculiar co-relation

between paid-for and unpaid-for labor. "If the quantity of unpaid labor supplied by the working-class and accumulated by the capitalist-class, increases so rapidly that its conversion into capital requires an extraordinary addition of paid labor, then wages rise, and other things remaining equal, the unpaid labor diminishes in proportion. But as soon as this diminution touches the point at which the surplus labor that nourishes capital is no longer supplied in normal quantities, a reaction sets in, a smaller revenue is capitalized, accumulation lags and the movement of rise in wages receives a check. The rise of wages therefore is confined within limits that not only leave intact the foundation of the capitalist system, but also secure its reproduction on a progressive scale."

The variations in the accumulation of capital, which confine wages within certain limits appear to bourgeois economists as variations in the mass of laborers offering their labor power. In this they are subject to a deception like some people who believe that the sun revolves around the earth and that the earth remains stationary. A slackening in the accumulation of capital has the appearance of a more rapid increase in the working-population than usual; if the accumulation takes on a more rapid tempo than it seems as though the working-population is on the decrease, or that it increases slower than usual. It is true, as the most of our readers may already know, that there are economists who explain the fact that wages rise and fall without ever crossing certain limits, the so-called "iron law of wages," by saying that when wages rise, the working-population as the result of that commences to increase very fast and that this causes an increase in available workers which in turn lowers wages; while obviously a fall in wages results in increased misery and mortality of the workingclass, which increased misery and mortality decreases the number of laborers available and thus wages again commence to rise!

However, the very simple truth known almost to anyone that wages do not vary from generation to generation but within much shorter periods speaks against such an explanation. We will refer to this again later on.

2. The industrial reserve army. So far we have assumed accumulation to go on without any change in the composition of capital. Such changes, however, of necessity occur during the process of accumulation from time to time.

Every change in the productivity of labor effects the technical composition of capital. The mass of means of production which, under otherwise equal condition, the worker transforms into product increases with the productivity of labor. Then there is a corresponding increase in the mass of raw materials which he consumes, an increase in the instruments of labor which he uses, etc. With the productivity of labor the mass of the means of production increases in proportion to the additional labor-power used by them, or, what is the same thing, the amount of labor employed decreases in proportion to mass of the means of production set in motion by this labor. These changes in the technical composition of capital are reflected in its organic (value) composition, in which it appears as relative decrease of the variable and increase of the constant portion of capital. The changes in the organic composition of capital however, do not exactly correspond to the changes in its technical composition, since with the increase in the productivity of labor not only is the amount of means of production consumed by labor increased but they also decrease in value, in a less degree, however, than their mass increases. At the beginning of the 18th century for instance, the value of capital invested in a spinning factory was one-half constant and the other half variable capital. The mass of raw material instruments of labor, etc., which are consumed by each spinner today during the process of production within a given time is many hundred times as great now as it was then; the proportions of the value between variable and constant capital have changed in a much smaller degree. The proportion in that industry today is about seven to one.

In all cases and under all circumstances, however, under the capitalist mode of production an increase in

the productivity of labor means a proportional decrease of the variable capital employed.

Yet the closest co-relation subsists between the productivity of labor and the accumulation of capital.

The production of commodities demands that the means of production be the private property of individuals. The development of the social productivity of labor on the other hand presupposes co-operation upon a large scale, great workshops, great masses of raw material, large instruments of labor, etc. The possession of such colossal means of production in the hands of individual capitalists under the rule of commodity, production is possible only after a sufficient number of separate individual capitals have been accumulated. "The foundation of commodity-production can carry production upon such a large scale only in a capitalist form." A given height in the productivity of labor therefore presupposes a given height of accumulation of capital. Under the capitalist mode of production every method for the increase in the productivity of labor becomes a method for increasing the amount of surplus-value and thereby a method for increasing accumulation. This in turn brings about an extension of the scale of production which in turn becomes one of the most potent incentive for a new increase in the productivity of labor. We see then that the accumulation and the productivity of labor tend to develop each other, mutually, more and more.

The influences of the growth of individual capitalists through accumulation are somewhat counteracted by the decay of old capitals, such for instances as the division of estates among heirs, etc. This counteraction against accumulation, however, is more than counter balanced by the concentration, the unification of capitals already in existence which is caused especially by the absorption of the smaller capitals by the larger ones. This centralization also causes an increase in the productivity of labor, also causes a change in the technical composition of capital, just as accumulation itself does. Besides this accumulation helps in concentration and visa versa. The greater the capital that I have accumulated the easier will it be for me in the competitive struggle to crush out and absorb the smaller capitals. The more smaller capitals my large capital absorbs the greater becomes the productivity of the labor employed by it, the more extensive becomes the accumulation.

The concentration of colossal masses of capital into few hands does not only develop the productivity of branches of industry already dominated by the capitalist mode of production. Numerous small capitals are forced out of modern branches of industry into enterprises in which the capitalist mode of production has as yet not taken a firm foot hold, into branches of industry in which a small capital is still able to compete and thus they prepare the way for their own final absorption in the realm of capitalism.

We see then that the whole capitalist mode of production moves in a continual technical revolution, the result of which is the steady, progressing argumentation of the constant, and the corresponding diminishing of the variable capital.

The relative decrease of the variable capital goes on much faster than the accumulation. The capital which is newly formed in the progress of accumulation employs fewer and fewer additional workers in relation to its magnitude. Simultaneously with the accumulation the process of revolutionizing the old capital goes on. After a machine is worn out it is replaced—if technical progress has been made—not by another one just like the old one, but by a newer improved one, the use of which will enable a worker to produce more than formerly. The old capital is renewed in an ever greater productive form; this of course results in making more and more workers superfluous.

Concentration is one of the mightiest levers for the transformation of old capital.

The more rapid the centralization and technical revolution of the old capital goes on the quicker must be the process of the accumulation of new capital if the number of workers employed is not to decline. But we have seen that the faster the accumulation goes on, the more aid is given to concentration and to technical revolution.

Malthusians tell us that "overpopulation" arises out of the fact that the means of subsistence (or to be more exact, variable capital) only increase in an arithmetic progression, i. e.: 1:2:3:3:4:5, etc., while population has the tendency to grow in a geometric progression, as 1:2:4:8:16, etc. The increase in population is

(To be continued)

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